



# GLOBAL CRIME AND JUSTICE

DAVID A. JENKS • JOHN RANDOLPH FULLER

# Global Crime and Justice

*Global Crime and Justice* offers a truly transnational examination of both deviance and social controls around the world. Unlike comparative textbooks detailing the criminal justice systems of a few select nations, or cataloging types of international crimes that span multiple legal jurisdictions, *Global Crime and Justice* provides a critical and integrated investigation into the nature of crime and how different societies react to it. The book first details various types of international crime, including genocide, war crimes, international drug and weapons smuggling, terrorism, slavery, and human trafficking. The second half covers international law, international crime control, the use of martial law, and the challenges of balancing public order with human and civil rights.

*Global Crime and Justice* is suitable for use in criminology and criminal justice departments, as well as in political science, international relations, and global studies programs. It will appeal to all who seek an academically rigorous and comprehensive treatment of the international and transnational issues of crime and social order.

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As the forces of globalization continue to reshape societies and impact relationships among and between nations, corporations, and individuals, David Jenks and John Fuller provide an excellent overview and analysis of the complex issues related to global crime and justice. Their new book not only defines global crime, but provides examples of the most prevalent types of global crime while contextualizing these behaviors and societies' responses. Students and scholars alike will find this book essential in understanding crime in a global context.

**Matthew S. Crow**, *Professor and Chair, Dept. of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of West Florida*



# **Global Crime and Justice**

David A. Jenks  
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This book is dedicated to those who inspire us:  
Cathi, Annika, Nicholas, and Amy.

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# Preface

As technological advances continue to shrink the world, it will become increasingly important for students to have an international perspective on crime. It is our hope that *Global Crime and Justice* will serve as an introduction for many students who will go on to pursue careers in law, public service, diplomacy, law enforcement, and human rights advocacy. This text provides the student with a broad overview of the many complex issues involved in maintaining social control around the world. Crime is varied in its manifestations and is influenced by region of the world, system of government, level of economic development, climate, and several other factors that make it difficult to compare across borders.

This text seeks to make sense of the global picture of crime by examining activities that are difficult to control because they happen not only within countries but between countries. Terrorism, arms-dealing, drugs, human trafficking, and technological crimes are all infractions that cross international borders and confound prevention efforts. It is a goal of this book to highlight these activities and give the student a greater appreciation for the difficulty that countries have in cooperating to reduce them. To this end, we have included essays from renowned international scholars on several issues. We are grateful for their contributions.

In addition to focusing on global crime, this text discusses international efforts to control and lessen illegal actions. This discussion also covers the difficulty of measuring global crime, as well as government efforts to develop agencies to respond to crime through international cooperation. Also presented are topics on international criminal law, criminal courts, private and corporate efforts to prevent and respond to crime, as well as the contributions of the United Nations.

Finally, this text is concerned with civil, legal, and human rights. The effects of crime and the quality of justice around the globe can only be understood and addressed within a framework of human rights. An understanding of local crime is crucial to comprehending how local social control is maintained in other countries. All countries have concerns with how their criminal justice systems enforce the law, and there is a moral imperative to treat individuals in a humane and just manner.

Global crime and justice continues to evolve around the world. With the juxtaposition of increasing means of travel and disparate opportunities around the globe, it seems rational that people will continue to seek opportunities for political, social, and economic

gains whether legal or illegal. Examining this phenomenon both holistically and on a case by case basis will provide a better understanding of how to eradicate many of the problems we now face on a global scale. While crime seems to be more clearly defined as we move into a global arena, justice has lagged behind.

Although many good people work hard every day to limit the effects of crime and provide justice, much remains to be done. We offer our support not only to the dedicated people whose jobs are to control global crime, but also to victims of crime, as well as those trying to reform corrupt, unethical, and ineffective criminal justice systems. It is the stories and concerns of these individuals that we seek to illuminate here.



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## *Chapter 1*

# Global Crime in Context

## Defining and Measuring Global Crime

### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Define comparative crime, international crime, and transnational crime.
2. Recall the use of victimization surveys and self-report surveys.
3. List the ways that an individual can be discriminated against.
4. Describe police discretion.

**A**s we look around the world, we witness a vast array of individual, corporate, and state criminal activity that is varied in its scope, intensity, and effect upon society. The amount and variety of global crime is immense, and in order to fully appreciate its dimensions, we must impose certain definitions and perspectives. Two of the most important variables to understand are the influences of culture and globalization on the causes of and responses to crime around the world. Although it may be difficult to comprehend why such crime persists decade after decade, the search for these answers uncovers a challenging and fascinating tapestry of criminal activity.

Although culture and globalization are inextricably linked in the production of global crime, each issue is worthy of individual consideration for several reasons. First, culture forms the pattern of laws, technology, religion, and other social institutions and economic structures that largely determine how each of us understands the world. Only by examining the influence of culture on the reasons why individuals and groups commit crime can criminal justice policies be crafted at national and international levels. Culture is such a pervasive and all-encompassing influence that we often do not realize how powerful it is. People often take their cultures for granted and tend to believe that their own culture is the best, the right, the normal, and the most morally superior culture. This type of **ethnocentrism**—the evaluation of other cultures according to ideas originating from one's own culture—afflicts not only individuals, but also governments. Therefore, the cultural connections that link crime among and between countries are key to understanding the underlying factors that foster global crime.

A second reason for considering globalization and culture separately is because globalization has a devastating effect on culture. The power of the global economic engine seeks to assimilate cultures into a general global society. Some assimilation is necessary in order to entertain international trade. For instance, the language of air-traffic controllers throughout the world is English. Although the bulk of the global aviation industry is free to run its operations in its local languages, those who decide where airplanes fly internationally and those who fly them are required to converse in English for the safety of all.<sup>1</sup>

This process of globalization affects all manner of crime. Its reach extends from one continent to another and makes everyone a potential victim. For instance, global white-collar crime is so pervasive that the conventional wisdom among accountants is that there is no completely safe place in the world to do business, and executives must accept this as a risk that they must manage.<sup>2</sup> It is useful to focus on the influences of globalization and culture separately because this allows us to understand their individual contributions to crime and appreciate how the interaction between them promotes a new worldwide level of crime. Crime at the local level may support an underground local economy that is free of taxes, environmental regulations, and economic transparency. When crime goes global, however, dealing with it becomes even more problematic. For example, organized international retail crime is rife with black-market thievery, employee theft, shoplifting, and gift-card fraud. The resulting black market is worth billions of dollars.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, we will look at attempts to measure the amount of crime around the world. It is difficult to understand a subject without measuring it, and global crime is a most difficult thing to measure. Not all countries record national crime statistics; of those that do, not all will publicize those statistics. The problem of measuring crime that occurs between countries is even more acute. For numerous reasons, there is no transnational crime-reporting system that records, on a regular basis, statistics on the crime that occurs between and among countries.

To begin, we will review many of the terms that are commonly used to refer to global crime. Some of these are used interchangeably, so it is useful to examine these terms to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the global effects of crime and the response to it.

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## **WHAT DO WE MEAN WHEN WE SAY GLOBAL CRIME?**

For the purposes of this book, the terms “global crime” and “global justice” are used in a comprehensive and inclusive manner. This expansive definition has both advantages and disadvantages. The primary advantage is that this inclusive perspective covers most global crime. This allows us not only to make comparisons between countries, but also to examine the idea that crime is country-specific. It may be more useful to think of global crime as part of a vast network of criminal organizations rather than thinking of particular countries or peoples as being responsible for criminal activity. For example, in discussing

**transnational organized crime**, crime perpetrated by highly organized groups between and among countries, American criminologist Jay Albanese cautions against falling into the “ethnicity trap” in which ethnic status is used to describe criminal activity. According to Albanese: “It fails to explain the existence of the activity itself and often comes perilously close to racial and ethnic stereotyping.”<sup>4</sup> A review of terms that refer to global crime and justice in this book is a good place to begin developing appreciation for the complexity of our task.

- **Comparative crime.** **Comparative crime** is the measure of how crime varies across countries. This is useful information because crime trends in one country may influence neighboring countries or even countries across the world. The main principle that comparative criminology demonstrates is that crime is not equally distributed across the globe. Some countries, such as the United States, have extremely high murder rates, whereas other countries, such as Japan, have low murder rates. The study of comparative crime delves into the reasons for such a wide variation in crime and, more importantly, what public policies will be successful in lowering crime rates.
- **Comparative criminal justice systems.** It is not only crime that varies radically across national boundaries, but also society’s response to it. Variations in the response to crime exist in specifications of crime (laws), resources to control crime (law enforcement officers, courts, and prisons), and the professionalism of criminal justice practitioners (which involves training, levels of corruption, and political will). The central message that can be discerned from the study of comparative criminal justice systems is that it makes a big difference where one breaks the law. Some countries are particularly effective in detecting crime, and some are particularly severe in punishing it. For example, not only are alcohol-control laws different in Tehran, Iran, than in New York City, United States, the ramifications for violating them are different, as well.
- **Transnational crime.** **Transnational crime** involves criminal activity by individuals or groups that crosses country borders. Like domestic crime, transnational crime has a motive of personal gain and profit. It is useful to think of transnational crime as having three objectives: provision of illicit goods, provision of illicit services, and the infiltration of business or government operations.<sup>5</sup> According to this definition, transnational crime involves more than a few drug smugglers or credit card thieves. A great deal, but not all, of transnational crime is related to organized crime.<sup>6</sup> These criminal organizations work in several countries to exploit the variations in how countries define and respond to crime.
- **International crime.** **International crime** is crime committed by one country against another, by a country’s government against civilians, or by a militant group against civilians, and typically consists of war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, and aggression.<sup>7</sup> International crime differs from transnational crime in terms of motive. Whereas the motive of transnational crime is personal gain and profit, the motive for international crime is more likely to be religious hatred or political advantage. International crimes include genocide and terrorism, as well as human rights violations. Included in our definition of international crime are criminal behaviors that are committed not only by organized criminal enterprises, but also by countries. The world is



replete with examples of politicians and leaders engaging in efforts to kill rival groups. One need only look at recent examples in Syria, Libya, and the Sudan to see instances in which government leaders overstepped the bounds of international law and civilized behavior and oppressed their own people.

These definitions are useful in helping to distinguish between various types of criminal activity that happens both within and across nations. Now that we have established the parameters of this inquiry, it is time to concentrate on what we have identified as the two main viewpoints that we will use to explore global crime: culture and globalization. These two viewpoints represent the contributions that both globalization and individual cultures make to crime. Crime cannot be understood without an appreciation for a society's culture, and globalization often produces a conflict, or even cooperation, between cultures that provides opportunities for crime.

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## CRIME AND CULTURE

Culture is not just a reflection of the way people live. Culture is the combination of patterns that dictate the etiquette, norms, rules, and laws by which people live. Culture is expressed in various ways in many aspects of our lives. For instance there is organizational culture, institutional culture, generational culture, corporate culture, gender culture, national culture, and so on. We are concerned here with the various cultures in a society that can influence crime and how a society responds to that crime.

Looking at various types of cultures within a society is one thing, but it gets more complicated when we start comparing one culture to another. One useful framework for doing this is to employ social psychologist Geert Hofstede's **cultural dimensions theory**, which states that a society's culture affects its members' values and that these values relate to behavior.<sup>8</sup> This theoretical framework describes six dimensions by which cultures differ.<sup>9</sup> For instance, culture has been shown to affect how a country's citizens perceive fairness in international relations.<sup>10</sup> By understanding how other cultures differ, it is possible to become more effective in a broad range of international interactions such as trade. Let's look at these six dimensions of national culture and speculate upon how they could be related to criminal activity.

1. **Power distance index.** This is a measure of how individuals in society perceive the distribution of power within that society. If individuals perceive high inequality, they are more likely to accept traditional social order in the family and political institutions. If individuals perceive low inequality, then they are more likely to believe power relations to be more democratic. The power distance index is useful in the study of crime by analyzing how distribution of power within a society relates to the type and frequency of domestic crime. Additionally, when considering transnational crime and international crime, the power distance index is useful for understanding variations in how individuals view the legitimacy of international law.

2. Individualism versus collectivism. Each of us is integrated into various groups throughout our lifetimes. The degree to which we prefer to be individuals or members of a group is greatly influenced by our culture. Some societies value the individual providing unquestioning loyalty in exchange for the protection of the family, the political party, or the national leader. Other societies embrace a philosophy of individualism that encourages members to choose their own affiliations.<sup>11</sup>
3. Uncertainty avoidance index. Societies vary in their tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity. Societies that have a low tolerance for ambiguity are more likely to attempt to structure interaction so that there is more certainty. People in such societies do this by making plans and establishing laws that attempt to minimize the occurrence of the unexpected in unusual circumstances. Other societies are more tolerant of change; individuals are more comfortable in unstructured situations and create as few laws as possible. People in these societies tend to be more pragmatic and more tolerant of social change. This measure of “uncertainty avoidance” can be seen in other studies such as Émile Durkheim’s examination of how **anomie**—a situation in which society provides little or no moral guidance to individuals—is a predictor of suicide.<sup>12</sup> Of significance to our understanding of global crime is the observation that during times of rapid social change, social norms break down, and more crime occurs.
4. Masculinity versus femininity. This important measure is not well understood in the literature dealing with cultural dimensions. The central thesis of this dimension is that just as individuals differ in their adoption of gender roles, so do countries. Typically, “masculine” cultures are envisioned as being concerned with competitiveness, assertiveness, materialism, ambition, and power. “Feminine” cultures place more value on relationships and quality of life. A country’s orientation toward a gender dimension can influence not only the frequency of crime, but also the types of crimes that are prevalent.
5. Long-term orientation versus short-term orientation. Individuals differ in their orientation toward time. Some people are able to defer gratification and save for the distant future, whereas others are impulsive and seem to live for the moment. To a great extent, time-orientation is related to one’s social class. The wealthy plan for the next generation so that their heirs continue to build upon their fortunes, whereas the impoverished are unable to plan for the future, save money, and invest in the education of their children. Time-orientation is also a function of other cultural forces. Societies with short-term orientation are likely to conform to standards and norms and be concerned with establishing an absolute truth. These societies honor traditions and focus on achieving quick results. By contrast, societies with long-term orientation show an ability to adapt their traditions to changing conditions and have a strong propensity to save, invest, and persevere to achieve results.
6. Indulgence versus restraint. Societies differ in the extent to which they promote self-control. Some societies are indulgent and allow relatively free gratification of basic human needs and desires that are related to long life and having fun. Other societies have strict conventions that require people to defer gratification and submit their obedience to strict social norms and legal expectations. For instance, in some societies,

alcohol is not only widely available but controlled by a multibillion dollar industry that advertises widely and encourages alcohol use as a positive behavior. In other societies, use of alcohol can get one arrested and punished by the formal criminal justice system.

In considering these dimensions of culture, it is easy to see that the ways in which different societies consider crime and criminal behavior are a product of their histories, traditions, religions, and experiences. For example, actions that constitute murder punishable by a harsh sentence in one culture may not be considered as such in another, and thus two cultures may have vastly different approaches to the same action. For an example, see Focus on Culture.

## FOCUS ON CULTURE

### ***Honor Killings***

In 2012, a Canadian jury found three members of the Shafia family guilty of drowning the family's three teenage daughters and the husband's first wife. The bodies of sisters Zainab, 19, Sahar, 17, and Geeti, 13, and Muhammad's first wife, Rona Amir, 52, were found in a car sunken in a canal in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. Prosecutors said the defendants had drowned the women, strapped their bodies into the car, and pushed it into the water. According to prosecutors, the defendants, father Muhammad, his second wife Tooba Yahya, and their 21-year-old son Hamed had killed the women because they believed the women had dishonored the family with rebellious behavior. The three family members were sentenced to life in prison.

The phenomenon of honor killing is relatively new to Western cultures. Although some countries, such as the United States, have special designations for "hate crimes," Western countries typically treat all murders the same way, regardless of the perpetrator's reasons for the crime. In countries like Canada, honor-killing suspects stand trial and are subject to the system's criminal justice process and rules of evidence.

Although honor-killing cases in Western countries are relatively rare, experts say they are rising worldwide. Victims are usually killed to restore the family's honor after the victim had contact with or was planning to contact a non-familial male. Such contact includes rape, kidnapping, other forms of victimization, and inadvertent contact. Victims may also be killed because of rumors about the victim's behavior or because the perpetrator merely suspects the victim of contacting a male. Victims may also be killed for not being subservient enough, adopting Western values, getting a job, using a cellphone, or leaving the residence without permission from a male family member. Most victims are women; one study found that only 7 percent of victims are men.

Honor killings are more common in Muslim countries, but experts say the data is unreliable because so many incidents are not reported and/or not recorded. In

countries such as Jordan, honor killings are illegal, but are treated as a different type of murder, and perpetrators usually receive short, lenient sentences. Some honor killings occur in Christian and Hindu communities in certain parts of the world, but most occur in Muslim countries. Some legal experts assert that Islam does not condone honor killings, and that the practice, which predates Islam, stems from cultural mores rather than religion. Still, women throughout the Muslim world protest the practice, and many groups are agitating for steeper penalties for perpetrators.

This example of cultural conflict is a recurring theme throughout this book. We will frequently return to cultural explanations of crime because culture is a major determining factor in a country's criminal justice response to domestic crime, as well as to transnational crime. In this text, we will continually confront vexing questions such as: What can or should be done about the cultural influence on crime and crime control? How can countries influence other countries to police their own citizens and secure their own borders? Should each country be free of pressure from other countries to handle crime according to its own history, cultural traditions, and will of its citizens? Finding the appropriate balance between individual rights, national rights, and human rights requires that everyone maintain an open mind to the cultural preferences and imperatives of others.

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## CRIME AND GLOBALIZATION

**Globalization**, probably the most powerful factor affecting the world's societies since colonialism, involves linking different national cultures, religions, economic systems, and social media into one worldwide system. American sociologists D. Stanley Eitzen and Maxine Baca Zinn provide a comprehensive definition of globalization.

1. Globalization is not a thing or a product but a process. It involves immigration, international travel, e-mail, offshore factory production, the movement of jobs to low-wage economies, the interdependence of markets and economies, and finding a McDonald's in virtually every major city in the world.
2. Globalization is not simply a matter of economics, but also has far-reaching political, social, and cultural implications.
3. Globalization refers to changes that are increasingly re-making the lives of people throughout the world. Globalization has consequences for institutions, families, and individuals.
4. Not everyone experiences globalization the same way. For some people it expands opportunities and enhances prosperity, while other people experience poverty and hopelessness. Periods of rapid social change "...threaten the familiar, destabilize old boundaries, and upset established traditions. Like the Hindu god Shiva, globalization

is not only a great destroyer, but also a powerful creator of new ideas, values, identities, practices, and movements.”<sup>13</sup>

Globalization has not only provided ample opportunities for individuals, governments, and businesses, but has also created new types of crime, unique environments for crime to flourish, and fresh challenges for governments as they try to control that crime (for an example, see Focus on Globalization).

## **FOCUS ON GLOBALIZATION**

### ***Counterfeit Goods***

The counterfeiting of consumer goods has become a serious problem for consumers and manufacturers. Counterfeit items may be shoddily made or perfect reproductions, but “fake goods” can endanger consumers who may be taking adulterated medications or using poorly constructed, unsafe equipment. Globalization has magnified this problem because many companies now manufacture their products in countries far from their headquarters and primary market. It is easy for counterfeiters to copy product designs, packaging, and ingredients well enough to sell the fake products as originals at low prices.

The substantial profits from the sale of counterfeit goods are an important source of income for criminal organizations, gangs, and terrorist groups because of the low risk of detection, prosecution, asset confiscation, or prison sentences. Counterfeit t-shirts sold in New York City helped fund the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. Law enforcement also seized 100,000 counterfeit t-shirts that were to be sold during the 1996 summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia, U.S., an operation allegedly created by followers of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman. (Rahman is currently serving a life sentence in a U.S. prison for plotting to bomb New York City landmarks.)

The demand for cheap products fuels the markets, and complicated global supply chains make it difficult to monitor the authenticity and quality of goods. The World Customs Organization has stated that 75 percent of counterfeit products seized worldwide from 2008 to 2010 were made in East Asia, with China being the primary producer. In 2012, U.S. authorities seized 1.26 billion USD worth of counterfeit products; the top five origination points of the goods were China, Hong Kong, Singapore, India, and Taiwan. In 2013, INTERPOL seized counterfeit goods from Eastern Europe worth nearly 1 million USD, including fake detergent, toys, shower gel, cigarettes, vehicle parts, electronics, wine, and appliances.

Counterfeit medication is a particular problem because it could be lethal or encourage the development of drug-resistant disease. In 2012, more than 200 people in Lahore, Pakistan, died and a thousand became ill after taking contaminated cardiac medications. The World Health Organization states that counterfeit medications

have compromised at least 10 percent to 30 percent of the pharmaceutical markets in developing countries, and about 1 percent of such counterfeit medications are sold in industrialized nations. According to the United Nations, between 30 percent and 90 percent of the anti-malarial drugs tested in Southeast Asia are fraudulent. Such medicines primarily come from India and China, but their trade typically involves Russian organized crime, Colombian and Mexican drug cartels, Chinese triads, and possibly even Hezbollah and al Qaeda.

Consider the following examples of global crime and attempts at law enforcement and crime control. Although crime has always crossed national borders, scenarios like the following are becoming more common.

- The poaching of wildlife and the illegal trade in animals and parts of animals, such as the ivory tusks of elephants, has become a global crime concern. It is suspected that terrorist groups conduct trade in animal parts to fund their activities, and that transnational organized crime is also involved. Agencies throughout the world are cooperating to address the issue. For example, a project funded by the European Union that tracks dead elephants using their genetic information is being conducted by the government of Gabon, the Royal Zoological Society of Scotland, and the United Kingdom-based Trace Wildlife Forensic Network. The London Declaration, signed in 2014 by 46 countries and 11 U.N. organizations, outlines steps to stop animal poaching.<sup>14</sup>
- In 2008, as fisherman Abdulqader Guled Said drove home with his brother from the coast of Somalia at the end of the fishing season, he was arrested along with five others in a helicopter raid by French commandos. French authorities suspected the men of hijacking a French yacht the week before in the Gulf of Aden. The commandos tied the men's hands, blindfolded them, and flew them out of Somalia. Said and another man were later acquitted of the hijacking in a Paris court, but Said, who spoke no French, did not understand what was happening during the criminal justice process. Said remained in jail four years. Afraid to return to Somalia for fear of reprisals from real pirates, Said has planned to apply for asylum for himself and his family in France.<sup>15</sup>
- In 2013, five Rwandan men were arrested in the United Kingdom on suspicion of involvement in the 1994 Rwandan genocide in which Tutsis and moderate Hutus were murdered by some of the Hutu majority, with an estimated 800,000 people killed in a period of 100 days.<sup>16</sup> Rwandan prosecutors, who want to try the men for crimes against humanity, have requested their extradition for years. However, in 2009, four of the men won an effort to halt extradition after judges ruled that they might not get a fair trial.<sup>17</sup>
- In 2005, an Australian woman, Schapelle Corby, was sentenced to 20 years in prison in Bali after being convicted of attempting to smuggle marijuana into the country (she was paroled in 2014). In 2011, China executed a South African citizen, Janice

Bronwyn Linden, three years after her conviction for smuggling methamphetamine into the country. Both women claimed the drugs were planted in their luggage, a common ploy among drug traffickers who use unsuspecting tourists as “mules” to move drugs across international borders.<sup>18</sup>

- Weapons trafficker Viktor Bout, a Russian citizen and former Soviet military officer, was convicted in the United States in 2012 of selling weapons to terrorists and sentenced to 25 years in prison. Bout reportedly sold weapons to the Taliban, Hezbollah, Muammar Gaddafi, and former President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo Mobutu Sese Seko. The country of Thailand, where Bout had gone to complete an arms deal, extradited him to the United States in 2010.<sup>19</sup>

Neither globalization nor crime are new phenomena. Crime is the bane of humankind with perpetrators breaking society’s rules for living. Globalization occurs when licit and illicit individuals and/or organizations with specific agendas endeavor to spread their influence to other countries in the form of goods, services, manufacturing, and crime. Although globalized crime has been around as long as globalization—for example, transnational criminal organizations have always been at work smuggling and stealing and trying to circumvent the laws of various countries—the aspects of globalized crime that have changed include the organizations and their methods of transport; the laws and the power of their enforcement; the degrees of social tolerance and political attention; and, finally, consumer demand. Countries are indeed challenged by globalized crime, but their levels of tolerance, and sometimes complicity, fluctuate. Whereas globalized crime is a problem for the world’s economies, it is also, at present, a crucial actor in the world’s economies.<sup>20</sup> Some countries depend on the economic activity that global crime provides, and global crime requires the markets that the world’s countries provide. Thus, the relationships between globalized crime and the economies of the world are far more complicated than a simple criminal justice perspective can explicate.

Globalization is the subject of much of the world’s history as the transmission of ideas and values has typically accompanied the domination of one people by another.<sup>21</sup> Globalization allowed European countries to use their command of the seas to colonize regions in Asia, North America, South America, and the Pacific islands. Colonization allowed Europeans to develop new markets for their goods while exploiting the natural resources and labor of the colonized region. In addition to corporations seeking to expand their markets, we can also see the imprint of globalization when religious organizations send missionaries to other lands. Similarly, we can see globalization working at two major levels today: gender and family, and education.

## Gender and Family

Globalization is having a profound effect upon **gender roles**—social and behavioral norms that cultures consider to be appropriate to each sex—and family expectations in many ways. For example, many societies are adopting a broader definition of the role of women. Across the world, women are increasingly attaining positions of responsibility as economic



and social relations move away from patriarchal networks toward systems based upon merit. However, one scholar notes:

[T]his odd mix of global economy, global culture, and global politics that we have come to call globalization is changing men's and women's roles across the continents. Unexpectedly (though it shouldn't be, given trends already afoot in the 1960s), women's roles are becoming ever broader and more encompassing and men's roles are becoming more limited and constricted, at least for certain men. This is not a story of female triumph, however, for only occasionally do women receive the full benefits of their new roles. Often, they end up overburdened, just as men find themselves displaced.<sup>22</sup>

Problems for women reflect a threat from the changeable nature of men's sense of their power and masculinity. On one hand, men wish to maintain their privileged places in society. In institutions and corporations, they construct "glass ceilings" so that competent women are allowed to rise only so far in the organizational hierarchy. Additionally, men maintain their privilege by devaluing the work of females and paying them a lower wage. On the other hand, men who made their living working with their hands are finding that their skills are being replaced by automation and that they no longer command a large salary. Along with the outsourcing of many jobs, the plight of male workers is increasingly at the mercy of the shifting winds of global trade.

This changing nature of the male role has some negative consequences for women.<sup>23</sup> Left with shrinking roles or no roles at all, men may seek other forms of gratification or simply abandon their relationships and marriages. In many countries, women are able to work outside the home and contribute substantially (or, in some cases, dominantly) to the family income. However, this increase in economic viability comes with disadvantages that mediate the benefit of the new opportunities. Women, in turn, may feel burdened by the addition of the role of breadwinner to their traditional roles of wife and mother.<sup>24</sup> When they come home from work, many women are still expected to prepare dinner and tend to the children. The degree to which men help with the housework in families in which women are the primary breadwinner varies by the proportion of husband's income to the wife's. In families in which the husband makes significantly more than the wife, the husband is likely to do some of the housework. In families in which the income disparity is relatively low or where the wife makes more money than the husband, the husband does less housework.<sup>25</sup> The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the man's concept of masculinity. Men are as likely to resent this extra work that women are taking on as they are to feel grateful. Women may blame men for being lazy and apathetic, while men may blame men from other social classes or from other racial or ethnic groups. Finally, men may blame women, especially feminists, for challenging their old status.<sup>26</sup> When stripped of his role as breadwinner, the man is more likely to cling to the traditional gender roles and privileges accorded to him by society. Therefore, in societies undergoing rapid social change where women are becoming empowered in the workplace, the male population is resistant and reluctant to change because men have become alienated.<sup>27</sup>



What happens when traditional gender and family roles are in flux? When economic and social pressures impose new roles and norms upon the family, the traditional bonds that influence behavior are weakened. Deviant behavior and criminal activity are often the results of these new family structures, although not every country or every group within a country is influenced to the same degree by these new social expectations and economic conditions.

## Education

Countries that enter the global marketplace are finding that their workforce requires skills and competencies that will allow them to compete with other countries. Although education has always been important to the elites in any country, it is now necessary to ensure that the workforce is sufficiently diverse so that disruptions in world economies or decisions to outsource jobs to different countries can be absorbed by the economy. This is a difficult transition for many small economies to adapt to because it requires a diversely educated population. Many countries are able to send their best and brightest abroad to study at prestigious universities. The hope is that these young people will return home and use their newly acquired education in the service of their people. Often, however, the newly educated are enticed by the lifestyle and opportunities of the host countries; they take local spouses and attempt to fully integrate into the host country to the point of obtaining citizenship.

This dimension of education has implications for both the source country and the host country. Educational access is not evenly distributed across the globe. For some, education around the world is also unequal by gender. Impoverished families are typically unable to send all their children to school, so they must decide which children to educate and which children to send to work to help support the family. Boys most often receive this opportunity as it is they who are most likely to remain close to home after they start their own families and support their parents. Girls are more likely to marry and move away to support their husbands' families, so educating girls is often considered a waste of resources.<sup>28</sup>

Global student mobility is one of the fastest-growing phenomena in higher education in the 21st century. More than 3 million students are currently crossing geographic and educational borders in pursuit of an international education. This mobility of students has great implications for both source countries and host countries. Countries that host these students include those that have long been beacons for international students such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, and Australia. In the 21st century, we can add China, India, and some emerging Middle East countries as countries that are benefiting from the influx of foreign students.

The increase in the mobility of students accelerates the globalization process. Foreign students bring to their host countries a mix of talents, problems, and opportunities. These students attempt to learn the language of the host country quickly and develop relationships with other students, professors, and the community. This means that many of the characteristics of their home country are transported to the host country in the form of language, food, dress, and attitudes toward learning and authority. The degree to which these

international students assimilate into the host country largely dictates how successful the students will be at their educational endeavors. Some foreign students may feel marginalized by the host country and engage in inappropriate behaviors, including crime.

Foreign students often return to their home countries and use their newfound skills to improve the standard of living there. Medical doctors, engineers, and scientists trained in a different country return with unique perspectives that can improve the lot of everyone. However, these globally mobile students may also have new and different ideas about the most beneficial type of government, family relationships, human rights, and economic viability. In traditional societies, students who return with ideas about equality of women, freedom of speech and religion, and the benefits of democracy often clash with the established order that seeks to maintain the status quo. For instance, when Middle Eastern women travel to the West to acquire an education, they sometimes return home with different ideas about the appropriate role for women in society. They chafe at the social and economic restrictions that their traditional society imposes upon females. In everything from obeying one's husband or father, or not wearing Western clothes, to being excluded from certain occupations, women who have experienced these greater freedoms in the West are often reluctant to return home where they must fit into a more traditional society. Still, it is these international students, to a large extent, who drive modernity in their home countries.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to all other aspects of society, crime is also influenced by global education. For example, individuals who acquire sophisticated computer skills are no longer limited to committing computer crime in their own country. Because of the technology that links individuals, corporations, and nations into a global information society, perpetrators in one country can engage in computer crime from halfway around the globe. This type of transnational crime makes it difficult to determine exactly who has jurisdiction in certain cases and, even more problematic, makes detection of illegal activity extremely difficult because authorities cannot physically apprehend the perpetrators.

## Race and Ethnicity

**Race** is a social concept used to categorize human beings into specific groups by anatomical, cultural, genetic, geographical, historical, and/or linguistic traits. **Ethnicity** is the state of having a set of physical and/or social characteristics in common with a particular group. Both of these concepts are related to the globalization process in that they are highly correlated with the way people are accepted into society and are the basis of much discrimination. It had been theorized that race and ethnicity would not play a prominent role in countries that engaged in international trade because commerce would be the primary means of evaluating individuals. In reality, although globalization has had somewhat of a leveling effect when it comes to race and ethnicity, it is also true that a resurgence in ethnic identity and pride during the 20th century has emerged to complicate the globalization process.

Although race is difficult to define, it has been used to differentiate among groups of people for centuries and has strong political and economic implications. Ideas of race have been used to determine the legitimacy of enslavement. For example, white Europeans

engaged in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, selling human beings based on the color of their skin. Even today, we see that skin color and ethnicity are used to categorize people and to divide up the privileges and obligations individuals have to society.

Light remains the color of privilege. In India today, 70 years after Gandhi declared all colors and creeds equal “children of God,” mothers still purchase creams to lighten their daughters’ skin color. Brazil has claimed to be free of the racial segregation and turmoil of the United States. In many ways it has, yet a clear distinction remains. Brazilians don’t speak of black and white; they have dozens of color terms, so that a black woman from the United States may find that in Brazil she is no longer black but “coffee without milk.” Even the quickest observation, however, shows that the wealthy and privileged of Brazil are overwhelmingly light complected, if not white at least “coffee with lots of milk,” while the poorest groups have darker colors and African or Amerindian features.<sup>30</sup>

This type of preference for racially based features gets translated into personal prejudice and social discrimination. In many countries, there is tension between dominant groups who wish to preserve their control on society and minority groups who may have a different religion, appearance, and/or language. One particularly illuminating way to measure the racial culture in a country is to look at its criminal justice system. At every stage of the criminal justice process—arrest, prosecution, sentencing, and post-incarceration release—the statistics reveal a great deal about that society.

It is important here to distinguish between prejudice and discrimination. **Prejudice** is an individual’s personal views, preferences, and biases. Individuals are entitled to their prejudices as long as those prejudices do not impinge upon the freedoms of others. At this point, prejudices turn into **discrimination**, the differential treatment of categories of people, particularly on the basis of color, race, age, gender, religion, or sex. Discrimination in criminal justice systems occurs when issues other than legal factors are considered. Extra-legal factors, such as age, sex, gender, race, economic status, and social class presumably are not considered in the policies and outcomes of a criminal justice system. However, not every country is successful in eliminating discrimination from its response to crime. Criminologist Samuel Walker provides what he and his co-authors call the discrimination-disparity continuum, which includes five categories of discrimination. (See Figure 1.1.)

- **Systematic discrimination.** This is discrimination that occurs throughout the criminal justice system at all stages and reflects discrimination that occurs in many other parts of the society. For instance, India’s caste system provides a good example of how

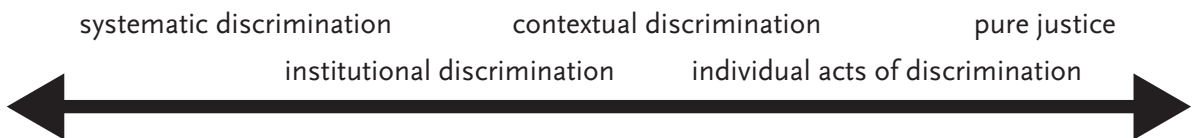


FIGURE 1.1 | Discrimination Continuum